# THE NEW REPUBLIC

*A Journal of Opinion*

VOL. 113, NO. 2 NEW YORK, MONDAY, JULY 9, 1945 NUMBER 1597

## The Charter Goes to the Senate

The speeches with which Senators Connally and Vandenberg opened Senate consideration of the United Nations Charter showed how wise President Roosevelt was in naming these men as members of the American delegation at San Francisco. Their influence has been an important factor in developing the practical certainty that the charter will be ratified without too much delay. The isolationists, however, have not given up. They are bending to the storm of popular approval, but they will raise their heads again when they think it is safe to do so. When legislation comes up to define the powers of our delegate, and to grant appropriations, they will do their best to weaken American participation. Public opinion will have to speak out boldly to make sure that serious harm is not done.

## Unprepared for Peace

The Vinson report on reconversion falls on deaf congressional ears. V-E day did not offer a chance for much expansion of civilian production, and already labor surplus is replacing labor shortage. V-J day will mean a threat of severe unemployment while industry is changing over, perhaps accompanied by inflation as civilian demand presses against insufficient supplies. Congress meanwhile is about to adjourn without having paid the slightest attention to President Truman's request that unemployment insurance minima be lifted, the term of payment lengthened and the law applied to the many, including federal employees, not now covered. Nor has Congress made any contribution to the necessity of stabilizing the construction industry or outlining a general reconversion policy. As far as domestic legislation goes, it has with extreme difficulty been belabored into a compromise which does not actually destroy price control, and seems now chiefly to be occupied with the fight of Southern Bourbons to kill the Fair Employment Practice Committee.

We should be thankful that Congress has at length passed the reciprocal tariff measure and seems about to sanction Bretton Woods. Apparently the Senate will ratify the United Nations Charter. But somebody needs to spell out in giant letters for the flickering light of its intelligence that everything else will fail unless the internal economy of the United States remains steady and expanding.

## Price Control Extended

The Price Control Act has been extended for another year, and with few of the hamstringing amendments the Republican leadership tried to attach. The House and Senate conferees struck out provisions which would have opened every price order to court review, would have guaranteed cost-plus-profit ceilings on every item and given food-czar powers to the incoming Secretary of Agriculture, Clinton P. Anderson. As approved, the Price Act limits Mr. Anderson's authority to final approval of *future* OPA food-pricing orders only. The House amendment had conferred on Anderson final authority on all orders, present and future, and would have been unreasonably restrictive on all OPA operations, as well as impossibly burdensome on Anderson. Even in its present form the Act will make it harder for the OPA to do its job.

The OPA has again been reprieved from the death house, once more at the eleventh hour. It now goes back to perhaps its toughest fight, maintaining anti-inflation controls in the face of ever greater clamor. Price Administrator Chester Bowles will need a stiff

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1945, IN THE U.S.A. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879
PRINTED IN THE U.S.A.

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backbone and lots of help to hold the price line. If Anderson can stand up to the terrific pressures that will be put on him to break the line, he can make it possible for Bowles to succeed.

## Russia and China

The visit of Chinese Premier T. V. Soong to the Russian capital, which coincided with the departure of a neutral mission from Chungking to Communist Yenan, indicates a move on the part of both the Kuomintang-controlled Chinese government and Moscow to find a new *modus operandi* in China's internal politics. Russia is vitally interested in preventing civil war in China, a war which, in the opinion of all American observers, would have disastrous consequences for China as well as for world peace. Russia has so far scrupulously refrained from interfering in China's internal situation, though her sympathies for Yenan have not been soft-pedaled in the Russian press. Chungking knows this, and it is probably for this reason that Mr. Soong went to Moscow. Civil war can be prevented in China by the creation of a genuine coalition government. That it is Russia and not the United States which has taken the initiative in breaking the Chinese stalemate—in spite of the fact that this country has had an unequaled opportunity of doing so—emphasizes the mistaken Chinese policy of our State Department, described elsewhere in this issue of the *New Republic* by Richard Watts Jr.

## The USSR Drives to the Sea

Turkey has been notified by the Russian ambassador that the Soviet Union is seeking a revision of the Montreux Convention of 1936. Under that convention Turkey was granted the right to fortify the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. She had been supported at the time by both Russia and Great Britain because their mutual fears and suspicions in the prewar appeasement era had made a genuinely international solution impossible. The Soviet Union had championed Turkey's cause because it wanted British warships kept out of the Black Sea. The British in turn espoused the Turkish claim because a friendly Turkey, in control of the fortified Straits, was an obstacle to Germany's eastward and Russia's southward expansion. These considerations do not hold any longer. It is not too far-fetched to assume, therefore, that Russia's request is directed not so much to Turkey as to Great Britain. While the precise nature of Russia's claims is not known, it has been reported that her maximum demand is for administration of the Straits by an international commission in which she would have clear leadership or, at a minimum, for the Straits to be opened to all vessels without restriction. The demand is not altogether unreasonable, though Russophobes will undoubtedly raise the cry of Soviet imperialism. But an international solution which would guarantee Russia's growing Black Sea fleet access to the Mediterranean can hardly be called "imperialist." If the Russian demand seems excessive now, it should be remembered that the Russians are adroit diplomatic bargainers who begin by asking more than they expect to get. The Turks, on the other hand, are equally realistic, and though they are reported opposed to the Russian request, they have, for more than a year, adjusted themselves to the idea that they will have to live in the shadow of their mighty neighbor to the north.

## The Status of Tangier

Paris will soon be the meeting ground for a conference of representatives from the United States, Great Britain and France whose objectives will be to define the future status of Tangier. The government of that city, which controls the strategically vital area at the entrance to the Mediterranean opposite Gibraltar, was usurped in the hectic days of 1940 by Dictator Francisco Franco, and France, the most interested country, has been unable to resist. The French now want the restitution of the Convention of 1923 which had internationalized the city but had also given France a favored position. The United States, on the other hand, not a party to that convention, wants a provisional regime which would leave the door open for the later participation of Russia and possibly Italy and Spain in the government of Tangier. The French demand, it seems to us, is untenable.

## The FEPC

The treatment of the Fair Employment Practice Committee in Congress was the usual sordid spectacle. All informed persons know that there is very great discrimination against workers on racial grounds, and that this is especially true in regard to Negroes. Everyone knows, also, that the FEPC has performed useful services in combating this situation. The opposition by members of the Southern Tory bloc is based on the lowest grounds of "white supremacy," a doctrine that is on all fours with the Nazi belief in Nordic superiority. For the moment, the Southern reactionaries have won their fight. Meanwhile, however, local action in many parts of the South as well as in the North, which is also guilty, is doing something to improve the plight of those who suffer from economic and social discrimination purely because of the color of their skin. Despite its slowness, the world do move.

## German Business Underground

Those who think the Nazis have been defeated for all time should note the material being turned up at the Kilgore Senate Committee hearings. German cartel wealth has been camouflaged in the United States and other countries, ready to be taken back and used in promoting a new war when the time is ripe. Patents and other rights have been turned over to companies

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ostensibly American, Swiss or Argentine as the case may be, but capable of being recovered by their original German owners after peace is established. Assistant Secretary of State Will Clayton and Assistant Attorney General Wendell Berge have offered much evidence of the German plot and the methods employed to further it.

In modern warfare as inaugurated by the Nazis, economic and military measures are almost indistinguishable. We have won in the field of arms, but have hardly begun to mop up the centers of ultimate economic resistance. There is a big job in this battle area right here in the United States. Ultimately, of course, we shall have to answer the question how to deal not only with German industry, but with the cartel empires which, knowing no national boundaries, have in the past abetted fascism.

## Churchill's Campaign Oratory

For many thousands of people, the sight of Winston Churchill engaged in electioneering has been a painful one. His wild and groundless charges that the British Labor Party, if it won the election, would bring about a totalitarian regime with Gestapo tactics, has contrasted disagreeably with the magnificence of his defiance of the Nazis at Britain's darkest hour, when he said: "We shall defend our island, whatever the cost may be. We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, we shall fight in the fields, and in the streets, we shall fight in the hills; we shall never surrender." To be sure, people should have known that in wartime all leaders seem more heroic than in fact they are. The combination of censorship and propaganda puffs them up to more than life size. Nevertheless, the contrast between that Churchill and the man who has been trying to frighten the country about a party which formed an important part of the coalition only a few weeks ago, does not present a pretty picture.

## A Green Light on Civil Liberties

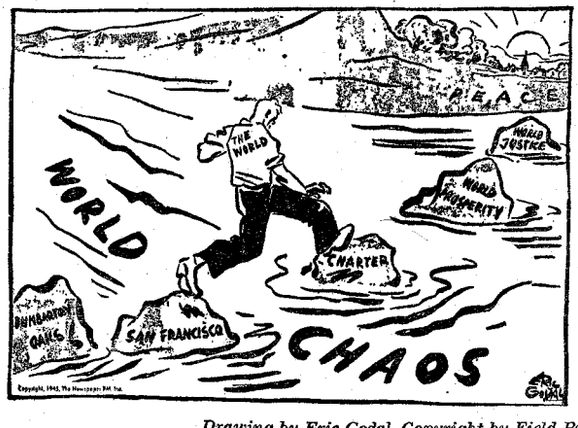
We sincerely hope that the change in the post of Attorney General, which took place on July 2, will not mean any lessening of enthusiasm in the Department of Justice for its Civil Rights section. Under its able young head, Victor Rotnem, this section has been doing an excellent job in counteracting the disregard for civil rights shown by local authorities in many parts of the country. The Department of Justice has been aided notably by the recent Supreme Court decision in Screws v. U. S. The Court upheld all the major contentions of the government in the case of a Georgia sheriff and two of his deputies, who had been convicted of beating to death a young Negro arrested on the charge of stealing a tire. It is true that the Court ruled it must be shown that the local officials acted with deliberate intent to deprive the victim of some federal right, and on this ground sent the Screws case to the district court for a new trial. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court in its decision gave the Department of Justice a clear mandate which will be of the utmost value in the future.

## Military Review

Faced with the certainty that they have lost the war, Japan's military leaders are trying to minimize the effects of inevitable defeat by measures which lie in the field of political and psychological warfare. The alternating boasts and exhortations which Premier Suzuki and his henchmen have delivered in the last few weeks make little sense if taken at face value, but it is clear by now that they must have an underlying purpose which seems, at least to their authors, to make a certain kind of sense, no matter how twisted it may appear to the Western mind.

Japan's leaders have admitted—indeed, they have proclaimed loudly—that their country is faced with invasion. It is significant that they do not say, as did the Germans in similar circumstances, that the attackers will be destroyed before they set foot upon the sacred soil. The greatest claim they make is that the invaders will be destroyed at the beaches. Then they reveal how little faith they have in this assertion by painting a lurid picture of every Japanese, from seven to seventy, defending his home in the terraced valleys or in the mountains with the same fanatical, suicidal spirit as Japanese soldiers have shown from Guadalcanal to Okinawa.

This is psychological warfare pure and simple, and the Japanese are attacking one of the most sensitive areas in the United Nations psychological make-up: their loathing of heavy casualties. The American press was misled, to some extent, into over-emphasizing the cost of the conquest of Okinawa. While it is true that casualties there were heavier than in any previous campaign for a single Pacific island, and while it may be true that they could have been reduced by different strategy or tactics, the fact remains that the attackers' casualties were far less than the defenders'. (Over-all

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A Big Step

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American casualties, including killed, wounded and missing, ashore and afloat, were less than half the number of Japanese killed in the ground fighting.)

Okinawa may be compared, roughly, with the campaign last year for the Cotentin Peninsula in Normandy. After early and somewhat costly successes against the Germans on the mainland of Europe, General Eisenhower's armies found that the ratio of their casualties to those of the enemy gradually improved, because even the Germans showed no desire to die for the sake of dying, and when it was clear to the commander of a force that his position was hopeless, he usually was willing to surrender with all his men. So far—despite a small increase in the number of Japanese prisoners taken on both Okinawa and Luzon—there is no indication that the Japanese will behave as the Germans did at the same juncture. And it is upon this theme that Suzuki and his fellows are harping.

The arithmetic is deadly simple: if one American must be killed or wounded for every two Japanese killed, that would mean 500,000 American casualties to defeat the million men the Japanese are known to have under arms for the defense of their home islands. But Suzuki does not stop at the idea of a million defenders; he is giving the widest possible circulation to the idea that there are going to be tens of millions of them, all eager to die provided that in dying they can take the life of one American or Allied soldier.

By these tactics, the Japanese have already succeeded, to some extent, in dividing Allied leaders. While there are still some who believe that Japan must be completely destroyed by being made into a battlefield, so that all her people can see with their own eyes the ruin brought upon them by their militaristic leaders, there are others who think that a satisfactory ending to the war against Japan would be the so-called unconditional surrender which might come without invasion of the home islands. They believe that Japan can be brought to the point of surrender by the current blockade (now being extended to the Straits of Korea and the Sea of Japan) and by the B-29 offensive under the command of Major General LeMay.

There is one school of American opinion, represented by Andrew Roth (formerly of the Office of Naval Intelligence, and now charged with conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act), which holds that the Japanese leaders have already decided to surrender, and will do so within three or four months. There is another school, probably as well informed, which holds that whereas the Japanese are not yet ready to surrender, they can be induced to do so by a skillful combination of bombing and psychological warfare.

The persons best qualified to judge what the Japanese reaction will be to continued bombing and the threat of invasion give this outline: although her cities may be leveled and her factories destroyed, Japan will not surrender to aerial attack; an invasion will be necessary, but it will not be necessary to conquer every square foot of the main islands, because the hopelessness of the struggle will become evident when an American fleet lies off Kyushu and Honshu, and American armies begin to penetrate inland.

The proof these conflicting opinions lies in the future. Meanwhile, preparations for the grand assault must go on, and are going on. The extension of Allied control over more of the Ryukyu Islands, such as Kume, will help in the defense against Japanese air attacks, help to destroy the enemy's remaining aircraft, and so serve, indirectly, to cut down the eventual casualties on the home islands.

# A Purge Needed in State

IN SELECTING James F. Byrnes for Secretary of State, President Truman has done about what was to be expected. Mr. Byrnes would not have been our choice for this post; we should have preferred a man known to be positively and aggressively in favor of international coöperation, and especially with the other members of the Big Three, Great Britain and Soviet Russia. Both in domestic and international affairs, the world is entering a new era which Mr. Byrnes does not understand very well, and in so far as he does understand it, dislikes. On the other hand, he is no more conservative than President Truman himself, which is to say, he is a little right of center. He knows how to work with other people, and he will follow Mr. Truman's line in supporting the United Nations Charter. If the President could have done better in making a selection, it is undoubtedly true that he could also have done much worse.

As for Mr. Stettinius, the President's action in appointing him United States delegate to the United Nations was a highly tactful gesture, as adroit in timing as it was in conception. The country is spared the danger of operating with a young and inexperienced occupant in the highest diplomatic post, a man who was appointed only to carry out the orders of President Roosevelt. Mr. Stettinius' new post is one in which little initiative or decision will be required. His chief liability is the fact that the Russians believe he is rather hostile to them; this impression he can readily counteract if he wishes.

The change in administration makes possible a badly needed house cleaning in the State Department. It is no news that there is a group of men there, including several of the Assistant Secretaries and many lesser persons, who are strongly reactionary. In essence, they are isolationists; they want the United States to have nothing to do with the rest of the world unless on impossible terms of American domination and dictation. They have a weakness for totalitarian regimes,

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which makes them too sympathetic to Spain and Argentina, as they were formerly too soft toward Hitler and Mussolini. They are excessively responsive to the conservative wing of the Catholic Church. America can never play her proper role in the United Nations until we get rid of these men, who would rather see another war than see the legitimate aspirations of the common people around the world fulfilled. Now is the time to make a clean sweep of them, and to create a State Department consonant with America's role and aspirations in the world.

## The British Election

THE BRITISH ELECTION took place while this issue of the *New Republic* was on the press. We do not know which side won, and the outcome may be obscure for several weeks. In the meantime, we should like to record our emphatic hope that Labor was successful.

It is quite true that there is a surprising amount of agreement between Labor and Conservatives, even though this may have been veiled, for many Americans, by the bitterness of the election campaign. The present political opponents were actually collaborating in a single cabinet until a few weeks before the election. They were and are agreed upon vigorous prosecution of the war and support of international organization. Both of them feel that continued friendship with the United States is of the utmost importance. In theory, at least, both want continued close collaboration with Russia. Both want large British exports in order that the nation may have the food and other materials it needs. Both would go far in domestic reconstruction, including educational reform, increased social security, a great housing program and full employment. Each party, of course, insists that it would do better than the other in carrying out these proposals.

Labor, if successful, will not nationalize all industries and establish a purely socialist economy, as Mr. Churchill charged in his disgraceful "gestapo" speech. On the other hand, neither will the Conservatives establish an untrammeled regime of free enterprise without governmental intervention or ownership. It is a truism that the British conservatives are far more progressive than their opposite numbers in America. Labor has promised to nationalize certain industries, and would undoubtedly proceed more vigorously in regard to public housing and solution of the land question.

For the present, however, the chief differences lie in the field of foreign policy, and they are important enough to make a Labor victory seem to us a highly desirable result. Western Europe is caught in the grip of a struggle between liberal and conservative forces, and it is of the utmost importance for the future welfare of the world that the liberal, democratic elements should have all possible support. Mr. Churchill's record in Greece, Italy and Belgium, to give only three examples, proves that his sympathies are on the side of reaction. Labor, on the other hand, would support the liberal elements, despite the silence of most Labor members of the coalition government in recent months as to Greece and other matters of controversy.

In regard to Russia, both parties, as noted above, profess equal solicitude that Anglo-Soviet relations should continue friendly. Both parties have certain handicaps in carrying out this policy. The Russians remember that as late as 1939, many British Tories were doing everything in their power to provoke a war between Germany and Russia, hoping that these two countries would destroy each other. They remember, moreover, the kind words spoken for fascism, or for certain fascist leaders, by some of the Tories, including Mr. Churchill himself. On the other hand, the British Labor Party is under a handicap because of its Socialist leadership; it remains true that in Europe as elsewhere, Communists and Socialists dislike each other, for historical reasons, even though they are working together in more than one country at the present time.

On one score, the scales seem to swing heavily in favor of a British Labor government. It is important that liberal, democratic elements should come to the fore in Eastern as well as Western Europe. Russia seems to be settling down to a policy of encouraging non-Communist regimes friendly to herself. A Labor government in Great Britain would certainly go father than a Tory government would to bring pressure for the maximum of democratic self-government in these countries.

We recognize the weaknesses of the British Labor Party. We recognize, too, that in office it would be less forthright and admirable in policy than its campaign speeches suggested. Nevertheless, British influence upon the whole course of Europe will be so important that we believe a Labor victory should be hailed by American progressives.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

*A Journal of Opinion*

*Editors:* BRUCE BLIVEN, GEORGE SOULE, MICHAEL STRAIGHT, STARK YOUNG

*Treasurer:* DANIEL MEBANE

*Assistant Editors:* HEINZ EULAU, ELIZABETH HULING, GEORGE MAYBERRY, HELEN FULLER (Washington)

*Contributing Editors:* H. N. BRAILSFORD, MALCOLM COWLEY, JULIAN HUXLEY, ALFRED KAZIN, MAX LERNER, E. C. LINDEMAN, THOMAS SANCTON, REXFORD GUY TUGWELL

*Advertising Manager:* E. G. WOOD

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# State Department Extravaganza

On June 6, 1945, the spirit of E. Phillips Oppenheim, Eric Ambler, Alfred Hitchcock and the other masters of the highly colored melodrama of international intrigue seems to have descended on the dignified American State Department. From that great repository of wisdom and protocol there issued, amid shudders, the awesome tale of how the FBI had saved the nation from a gang of bold plotters who were appropriating vital secret documents and turning them over to various baleful and mysterious accomplices. Trusted employees of both the State Department and the Navy had basely betrayed their trust by transmitting to even more sinister characters confidential papers of the utmost importance, and the arrests had been made just in time, since one of the scoundrels was already planning to flee the country. Even such unruffled journals as the New York *Times* and the *Herald Tribune* referred in dramatic headlines to a Spy Ring and hinted that the arrests were just beginning.

It was evident that the State Department was pretty excited about its revelations. The five men and one woman under arrest were depicted as desperate figures and their deeds as dark and reprehensible. One of the secret documents was so important that officials said they wouldn't even dare mention it in the presence of a jury. There were ominous hints of the alarming revelations to be made in due course, and malign suggestions about the threat to national security. In short, the department was very proud of what it had done and felt that it had pulled off an important coup.

If even the New York *Times* and the *Herald Tribune* were startled by the melodramatic disclosures, the excitement and joy of such unrestrained papers as the *Journal-American* and the *World-Telegram* was unbounded. Obviously neither the Hearst nor the Roy Howard press could keep the Reds out of it, so the *Journal-American* screamed about a Moscow-led conspiracy "as sinister in its implications as Stalin's Ogpu" and the *World-Telegram* saw another corroboration of its long-time conviction that Bolshevism was rampant in high places. On later days, there were hysterical Hearstian outbursts about how one of the conspirators had secretly visited Moscow on the somewhat unnecessary mission of telling Stalin ugly things about Chiang Kai-shek, as well as a dire tale suggesting that the same conspirator had been responsible for the removal of General Stilwell from China.

Perhaps it was the *Journal-American* and the *World-Telegram* that first changed the public mood from startled acceptance to skepticism in regard to what was already coming to be called the Case of the Six. Somehow the hyperthyroid hysteria of the venomous outpourings against the accused in these two dubious organs was a little too violent to be persuasive. But the State Department and the spokesmen for the prosecution likewise were partially responsible for the quickly changing reaction. The very tone of their excited revelations and charges was conducive to doubt and, when it came out that the six were not charged with being spies at all or with any dealings with the enemy, but with a vague "conspiracy to transmit confidential information to unauthorized persons," and that the one allegedly planning to flee the country was merely an accredited war correspondent about to set out for the Pacific, speculation really began.

It is the newspaper *PM* which deserves credit for being the first to express its doubts openly. It pointed out that the accused were known to be in opposition to the State Department attitude toward both China and Japan and that the practice of letting "unauthorized persons"—*i. e.*, newspaper and magazine writers—see various official documents as background material for their information was a long accepted one. It was noted that there had never been objection when the information in such confidential documents was printed in articles praising department policy in Spain and Africa, that such favored writers as Ernest Lindley and Demaree Bess apparently were allowed to see such papers virtually at will and that there was strong reason to believe that some connection existed between the violent charges and the increasing State Department sensitivity to criticism.

The same points were made by the New York *Post* which added that various newspaper columns and radio commentators would have had to go out of business long ago had they been deprived of access to sources within the department and that the arrest would have the effect of silencing critics of its policy. Most effective of all was a cool and balanced editorial in the New York *Herald Tribune*, which made essentially the same criticisms that appeared in the other two papers, but made them in such detached fashion that the increasing national skepticism about the one-time spy plot was impressively high-lighted.

So unfavorable was the reaction to its melodrama that the State Department soon found itself on the defensive. It protested loudly and violently that the arrests had been made by the FBI, that when the investigation was ordered there was no knowledge of the identity of the culprits or of their views, and that so far as it was concerned, the political ideas of the accused were of no moment. On the other hand there was evidence that the FBI felt rather unhappy over its position in the matter, since two of its most eloquent defenders, Walter Winchell and Drew Pear-

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son, insisted that the State Department was to blame and that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had been used to give some dubious activities respectability.

That is about the way the matter stands at the time of writing. The hearing has been postponed, the accused are out on bail and Mr. Grew insists that the arrests stand on their own merits, that they are purely the result of an attempt on his office's part to keep confidential documents confidential and that they are not intended to terrorize the opposition. He believes this will be proved in court; the accused feel that just the opposite will be shown. Until the trial is held, it will probably have to be left at that. Nevertheless it is difficult to deny that at the moment it is the State Department, rather than the accused six, that is on trial before American public opinion.

There is, first of all, the sensationalism of the original charges. The ominous hints, the talk about spy rings, the veiled implications, the suggestion of fateful secrets to be exposed—all this evidences less a desire to protect departmental security than an effort to blast reputations and wreck careers. There is no longer any attempt to suggest trafficking with the enemy. The most that appears to be claimed is a technical neglect of official security regulations, which at worst would seem to warrant reprimand or possible dismissal from the service, rather than espionage charges. The fact that the offense charged to the six has long been recognized as common practice and that it is taken with grim seriousness only when the people allegedly committing it happen to be foes of a foreign policy about which its advocates are extremely sensitive, would seem to indicate, unless the State Department has startling additional evidence to offer, an attempt to intimidate opposition. Steps have certainly been taken to keep the liberal press from legitimate sources of information, while defenders of a reactionary foreign policy still have access to the higher-ups in the department. And Mr. Grew has admitted that these higher-ups can change the status of formerly confidential documents and allow them to be made public without telling any of their colleagues of the change.

Although the accused six are too varied a group to have a common point of view on all the issues involved, it can be said that essentially they oppose current State Department policy in regard to both Japan and China. In Japan they disapprove of the determination of the Old Japan Hands in the department to protect the Emperor, accept the big businessmen and the allegedly liberal politicians as our friends and end up by restoring to power in postwar Japan the same old gang, with its face washed and a few of its more recalcitrant members removed. In China they feel that it is a mistake for us to back unreservedly the dubious Kuomintang oligarchy and drive the Chinese Communists into the hands of Moscow when it would be possible to exert our influence to bring about a progressive, unified nation under a coalition government.

One does not have to be abnormally suspicious to feel that the recent coördinated drive in both China and the United States against the progressive young American foreign-service officers with China backgrounds is more than a coincidence, and that it bears some relationship to the so-called espionage case. So far as I know, Ambassador Hurley may have been as surprised as any newspaper reader when he heard of the arrests, but it is difficult not to regard him as a sort of spiritual father of the case. For it is a melancholy fact of recent Sino-American relations that the two victories of our new Ambassador to Chungking have been that he has committed us more strongly than ever to support of the Kuomintang and that he has succeeded in wrecking one of the ablest diplomatic staffs that ever represented the United States in a foreign land, a staff that was a fine tribute to our unappreciated former Ambassador, Clarence E. Gauss.

Among the most brilliant of this exceptional group was John S. Service, one of the accused six. Service was political adviser to both General Stilwell and General Wedemeyer; he headed the diplomatic section of the American observer group that was allowed to visit Communist Yenan; he was highly respected by all of the Americans, military or civilian, who came in contact with him in blockaded China, and it was regarded as indication of his importance that when he came out of Yenan he was flown back to the United States with a top priority to report on what he had seen. That he was favorably impressed by what he saw he did not deny, but so, at first, was Ambassador Hurley. At least he was impressed enough and seems to have thought the Communist demands for participation in the government were reasonable enough to warrant him in giving them his written approval.

When he returned to Chungking and saw the Generalissimo, however, he soon changed his mind and became a complete supporter of the Kuomintang position. One of the first ways in which he showed his shift of viewpoint was to turn from approval to hostility in his attitude toward his diplomatic staff. Instead of regarding them as helpful advisers with a sane, liberal outlook, he came to look on them as hostile and insubordinate and he proceeded to get rid of them ruthlessly. The result is that the new Ambassador, a tyro in Chinese politics and an easy prey for the wily Kuomintang politicians, is the last best hope of reaction in China and has as his aides men who are equally inexperienced and, it is to be feared, equally gullible. There is no doubt that since his change of mind about Yenan, Hurley has been hostile to Service, whose record in the State Department was such that he was raised three grades in a year, an almost unheard-of honor. There is also no denying that the position of a member of the department's China Division who opposes the Hurley-Grew policies is precarious, whether

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or not Ambassador Hurley is personally responsible.

Meanwhile the Kuomintang press has been enjoying itself. Just recently, the New York organ of the party, the *Chinese Journal*, quoted a Central News dispatch from Chungking saying that the arrest of the six had exposed a conspiracy between the Communists of America and China to sell military secrets to Japan. Clippings of papers recently received from Sian evince the same belief. Even the State Department and the New York *Journal-American* didn't dare to go that far. The Kuomintang clearly isn't going to waste any time in profiting from the case. It would be an encouraging thing if the State Department could prove that it, too, wasn't trying, by a kind of Dreyfus case of its own, to intimidate the opponents of its Far Eastern policy.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

# New York's Mayoralty Race

THIS IS the year in which the voters of New York choose a new mayor, and traditionally that has meant a knock-down, drag-out fight, with no holds barred and winner take all. Although the election is still four months away, the symptoms of an unusually dirty campaign are already in evidence.

Two contenders for the post which Fiorello H. LaGuardia has held for twelve years have already been selected—and there may be more. Independent candidates have until August 15 to file their petitions. There is even a slight possibility that LaGuardia himself might jump into the ring and turn the election into a merry free-for-all, or he may send in a substitute candidate to add to the confusion. As the political writers are fond of saying, party lines have been "blurred." In some instances personal feuds threaten to overshadow the real issues.

The Republicans, joined by the newly formed Liberal Party and the numerically tiny Fusion Party, have nominated a Democrat—Judge Jonah J. Goldstein of the Court of General Sessions. For several months the Democrats engaged in their traditional intra-party brawling, and for a little while it looked as if Bosses Edward J. Flynn of the Bronx and Frank V. Kelly of Brooklyn were having a contest to see which could produce the weakest possible candidate. However, they finally, and reluctantly, agreed on District Attorney William O'Dwyer of Brooklyn, who, as the party's nominee in 1941, had given LaGuardia a very hard race. O'Dwyer also has the support of the American Labor Party. In the sense that the term "good government" has been used in New York during the past decade, neither candidate is a good-government man. Except in the most general terms (largely discounting what they do in election years), neither has been a leader in the fight against political corruption or machine politics.

Although born in Canada, Goldstein is a product of New York's East Side. He was brought here by his parents at the age of six, when the family settled in the heart of the city's impoverished Jewish community on Madison Street. Short, aggressive, violent in his likes and dislikes, Goldstein is likely to put on a rough-and-tumble campaign. Like many others who endured the same hardships, his early experiences are now reflected in his intense, somewhat brusque manner.

Goldstein, who is 59, formally entered politics at the age of 25. In 1911 he became secretary to the late Al Smith, then majority leader of the State Assembly. Later young Jonah became a clerk of the powerful Assembly Ways and Means Committee. When not in politics he was practising law, usually in partnership with his brother David. Both Goldsteins were considered to be highly competent by other members of their profession. "Johnny," as his politician friends call him, has always been closely associated with Tammany Hall, although never part of its inner councils. Up to the time he was surprisingly designated the Republican nominee, he was working assiduously for the Democratic nomination. One of his best political breaks came from former Mayor James J. Walker, who made him a city magistrate during the Seabury investigation, when he replaced a jurist then under fire. In 1936 ex-Governor Lehman appointed him to fill out an unexpired term as Judge of the Court of General Sessions. It is in this court that the bulk of the city's criminal cases are handled and it is here that Goldstein has earned a reputation for humanitarianism. His attitude toward criminals has been generally regarded as socially enlightened, particularly in the case of young offenders. Always active in Jewish charities, Goldstein has also taken part in several fights against discrimination. One of the most notable was in the case of Francis E. Rivers, before he became a Municipal Court judge. Rivers, a Negro, was refused admission to the American Bar Association. Goldstein resigned in protest.

Goldstein incurred the wrath of the Communists when he sentenced to prison Morris U. Schappes, English tutor at the City College of New York, for perjury. The case was an outgrowth of the Rapp-Coudert investigation of allegedly subversive activities in the city's schools. Schappes claimed not to know the names of other Communist Party members at the college. However, back in 1937 when the German-American Bund sought a police permit for a parade, Goldstein declared: "There is no right, constitutional or otherwise, to parade." He contended that in the case

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of the Nazis a parade might tend to create a breach of the peace. "On the other hand," he continued, "a distinction must be made as to the Communists. They have organized themselves into a political party, seeking a change of government by way of the ballot box. I would no more deny them a permit to parade than I would deny one to the Republicans, Democrats or Fusionists."

Like his opponent, O'Dwyer, too, came up the hard way. In 1910, at the age of 20, he came to the United States from Ireland. He went to live in Hell's Kitchen and later worked on the docks as a stevedore. He then experienced a succession of trades ranging from hod-carrier to plasterer's helper. Meanwhile he was studying at night school and in 1916 won his citizenship papers. In 1917 he joined the New York police force and for eight years pounded the pavements. During this period he spent his evenings studying at Fordham Law School and, after retiring from the force, took his degree and practised law.

In 1932 O'Dwyer was appointed a city magistrate by Acting Mayor Joseph V. McKee. It was while he was serving on the bench that one of his brothers was killed by gunmen during a Brooklyn café hold-up. According to his associates, O'Dwyer from that time on became an implacable foe of gangsters. In 1938 he was appointed to the Kings County (Brooklyn) court by Governor Lehman and later he was elected to this $25,000-a-year post. His term was to run for 14 years, but in 1939 he decided to run for District Attorney. It was here that O'Dwyer made his reputation. Together with a group of very able assistants, he broke up Brooklyn's notorious Murder, Inc., which offered to do killings for about the price of an orchestra seat at a good show. Though some feel that O'Dwyer did not reach all the top leaders in this gang or their political protectors, he was able to boast that within a year after he took office there was not a single gang killing in Brooklyn. Since then the business has had occasional spurts.

O'Dwyer entered the mayoralty sweepstakes in 1941 and gave LaGuardia a hard run. The following year the Brooklyn prosecutor entered the army and was commissioned as a major. He served in the Provost Marshal's office as an investigator of war-contract frauds. After a series of promotions he became a brigadier-general, and in 1944 went to Italy to work with the Allied Control Commission.

At about this time President Roosevelt became interested in his career. Although both Goldstein and O'Dwyer are moderate liberals, neither has been an outstanding champion of any social legislation or progressive cause. But one of his close friends says of O'Dwyer that under one year of Roosevelt's tutelage he "got religion." Moving to build him up for the mayoralty, Roosevelt appointed O'Dwyer chairman of the War Refugee Board.

O'Dwyer's personality will play a big part in the campaign. Like many another politician from County Mayo, he is a bit of a charmer. When things go against him he has a tendency toward moodiness, but when all is going smoothly, his face lights up and his language becomes colorful, even bristling. He, too, has strong likes and dislikes and once referred to some Tammany politicians as "stinkpots." He has had some equally blunt things to say about his own borough boss.

It was his inclination toward vivid expression, plus a determination to run things his own way, that almost cost him the Democratic nomination. Since becoming the Democratic candidate, O'Dwyer has already had two head-on collisions with the party bosses. He insisted that they give him strong running mates and that they redesignate Manhattan District Attorney Hogan, who had incurred the wrath of some underworld leaders.

Aside from the major issues, which appear likely to get skimpy treatment, one perplexing problem for both sides is how the "Jewish vote" will go. Governor Dewey, his secretary, Paul Lockwood, and J. Russel Sprague, the Republican National Committeeman, who are the local GOP brain trust, are credited with forcing Goldstein's candidacy on the reluctant Republican leaders, in a move to split the normally Democratic Jewish vote. Whether this bit of homespun *Realpolitik* will prove effective, or whether it will backfire, is now a matter of acrimonious dispute. The so-called Christian Front is so bitterly opposed to O'Dwyer that they refer to him as a "Jewish" Irishman and will not support him with any enthusiasm, if at all.

On the Goldstein side three major issues will be stressed: (1) Good government—noting that Controller Joseph D. McGoldrick, who served competently under LaGuardia, is on the Republican-Liberal-Fusion ticket. (2) Communism—charging that with Communists strong in the ALP, they will wield undue influence in an O'Dwyer administration. (3) Tammany Hall—stressing that with the alleged underworld tie-up of certain Tammany leaders, rackets will flourish under a Democratic administration.

O'Dwyer's managers will exploit these points: (1) President Roosevelt favored the Brooklyn district attorney and a vote for him bolsters the present national administration. (2) Governor Dewey is running Goldstein's campaign with an eye to his own political future. (3) The Republicans will impose a reactionary regime on the city, with more attention to reduction of real-estate taxes than to postwar reconstruction.

The fundamental question of whether graft and tin boxes must inevitably return with the departure from the local political scene of Mayor LaGuardia is still to be determined. But hope springs eternal in the breasts of the boys in the backroom.

ROBERT G. SPIVACK

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# Labor's Stake in Reconversion

As THE EFFECT of the victory in Europe upon the nation's gigantic war-production machine begins to become evident, our failure adequately to prepare for our postwar economy becomes increasingly clear. The termination of contracts hits the headlines—and tens of thousands of workers hit the streets. And the end is not yet, nor even the beginning. Lack of provision for workers who are thrown out of jobs, correctly labeled by President Truman as the most serious defect in our reconversion policy, is no longer a theoretical problem for tomorrow's solution, but an insistent fact for today.

Because we failed to complete plans for reconversion when there was time to do so, the deluge of problems is upon us and we find ourselves unable to plan the methodical adjustment of workers to the postwar period. It is plain that any workable and thoroughgoing reconversion program must establish a firm foundation for full, permanent employment. In order to achieve this end, certain basic economic facts must be kept uppermost in the thinking of the planners.

Although tens of thousands of workers are now being thrown out of their jobs in heavy-industry war-production plants, we cannot look at the over-all employment situation in the nation and say that we have more workers than jobs. In certain areas and in certain industries the demand for labor is greater than it ever has been. For example, the textile industry needs 150,000 workers if it is to meet essential, rock-bottom military and civilian requirements. Serious labor shortages—or, more accurately, serious manpower-maldistribution problems—exist in almost every consumer-goods and service industry. The problem obviously is to bring the unemployed worker to the unmanned job and to make that job sufficiently attractive for him to want to take it and keep it.

Some of the plans that have been put forward for effecting the transition to peacetime production rest on the theory that the heavy-goods industries must continue to maintain the high employment levels of the last four or five years. I am convinced that in the immediate future it will be impossible for the nation to absorb for use the same tremendous volume of heavy-industry products it produced for destruction. The inevitable conclusion is that a substantial number of persons who are now employed in the heavy-goods industries will have to turn to the consumer-goods industries for employment. In short, the achievement of a sound peacetime economy will necessitate the transfer of workers from employment in heavy industry, where wages have been relatively high, to jobs in the consumer-goods industries and trades, where wages have been relatively low.

The process of going over to a complete peacetime economy will depress the country's wage bill, because workers will be forced into jobs in which wages are low. According to recent authoritative estimates, non-agricultural employees (exclusive of government workers, professionals, and domestic servants) total some 27.7 million persons, of whom 10,710,000 earn less than 65 cents an hour; more than three-quarters of these 10,7710,000 are employed in the retail and service trades and manufacturing industries, primarily the consumer-goods industries. It is obvious that the transfer of workers to these industries will automatically reduce the country's wage bill and prevent the maintenance of a sound economy.

Thus, low wages in the consumer-goods and service industries menace orderly transition to a civilian economy. Earnings of workers in the durable-goods manufacturing industries are now about 25 percent higher than those in non-durable goods, and are probably 100 percent higher than in the service and trades industries. Workers who have become adjusted to such standards of living are naturally reluctant to take a cut in their current standards. The problem of reshifting such workers will not be easy. Munitions workers whose earnings have reached $60 to $70 a week will not willingly and freely move their families into a new community where they can earn only about $25 a week. The relatively high wages in war industries facilitated the quick adjustment of workers to job opportunities when the United States was arming for war, but reconversion offers no such incentive. Low wages are the barrier.

It is plain, therefore, that reconversion planning must take into account the fact that the greatest employment opportunities of today and tomorrow will be in those industries in which wages are what the War Labor Board would call substandard. And so long as we permit this substandard condition to exist, two things will be true. First, we shall find it impossible to attract to these industries workers whose weekly earnings have gone far beyond what the new jobs will pay and whose unemployment insurance may even be greater than the prospective wage. Second, and more important, the low wages in the so-called substandard industries will become an economic abyss which the nation cannot bridge. Our national payroll is now running at about $90 billion a year. Even if we return to a peacetime economy at the same level of business activity, the payroll is expected to shrink to about $70 billion annually because of the loss of overtime and other factors. This contraction in national purchasing power could very well set off a downward spiral that would result in a major depression. And it

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cannot be corrected wholly by a general percentage increase in wage rates to compensate for the loss of overtime. So long as the inevitable shift from high-wage to low-wage industries takes place, a dangerous contraction of buying power is inevitable.

For these compelling reasons, the basis of any realistic reconversion wage program in the United States must be the complete elimination of substandard wages from American industry. It would be simple enough to justify such action on humanitarian grounds alone, but at this time the economic hazard should be a greater driving force than social conscience.

Several immediate steps can be taken. Senator Pepper and others have introduced a resolution in Congress which would establish 65 cents an hour as the dividing line for substandard wages. Passage of the resolution would serve as an emergency measure to begin to correct substandard wages and living conditions. Meanwhile, the WLB should establish a 65-cent minimum. There are ample data on the Board's records to justify such action.

Important as they are, these steps would be permissive, not mandatory. The only really permanent and basic solution of this problem is an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act to provide a minimum wage of at least 65 cents an hour, with authority given to industry committees to raise that level as high as they feel industry can stand. Only by attacking the problem boldly can we hope to solve it. And only by solving the problem of substandard wages can we hope to achieve full production, full employment and a balanced economy.

EMIL RIEVE

# The Nisei Come Home

ON MAY 13 Secretary Ickes let loose a blast at the hoodlums and terrorists who by shooting, burning and dynamiting were attempting to scare Japanese Americans away from returning to the West Coast states. When Mr. Ickes issued his statement, twenty-four separate acts had taken place, with no one convicted of complicity in any. The one case tried, that against defendants charged with dynamiting the barn of Sumio Doi in Auburn, California, ended in acquittal. The defense attorney's plea: "This is a white man's country," made clear the atmosphere in which the case came up.

Yet it would be a mistake to assume that that attitude of hatred and prejudice exists throughout California, or even that it exists in a majority of Californians in any one place. Mr. Ickes knew whom he was pointing at when he insisted that the purpose of the acts of terror was "to establish an economic beachhead on the property of the evacuees they vainly hoped would sell out or run out."

Other incidents have occurred since Mr. Ickes' denunciation. All, like the original twenty-four, have occurred in agricultural sections where, before the evacuation in 1942, Japanese Americans either owned or operated sizable amounts of land. The clamor of protest rises most loudly from those same sections, and though there are a good many agricultural areas to which Nisei have returned without the overt acts which occurred in Merced, Fresno, Auburn, Livingston and other towns, there is generally out in the counties a strong undercurrent of rumor and talk.

It is perfectly clear *why* some rumors originate, and in a general way *where*. Newspapers point out, offhand, that many former Japanese businesses are now owned by Filipinos, that market stalls and shops formerly run by Issei and Nisei are now in Filipino hands. By every kind of innuendo, antagonism between Filipinos and Nisei is stirred up, and rumor is given every opportunity to beget its own likeness in fact.

But it is not the "people of California" who should have to take immediate responsibility. The people of California (who, because they come from all over the country, are a fair cross-section of the people of America) are guilty of the common American crimes: They are guilty of having elected a certain number of prejudiced, ignorant and venal public officials and law-enforcement officers. They are guilty of having let too much of the rich and profitable land of their state fall into corporate hands. They are guilty of buying and reading—for lack of better—newspapers that, with a a handful of exceptions like the San Francisco *Chronicle* and the Santa Barbara *News-Press*, have been guilty of bigotry and very often downright lying in their treatment of the problem of the Japanese Americans.

It is not the "people of California" we are after. At the worst they are agitated by a manufactured "public opinion" created by the alliance of politicians, press and growers, whose interests coalesce without friction. At the best, they are actively fighting for democracy and fair play in the state. And at the average, they are simply inert, puzzled, variously uninformed or misinformed, but not really prejudiced, not really full of hate. The hatred is largely a synthetic product compounded by a handful of crackpot organizations of jingoes and distributed by the people who find it useful.

That hatred of the Nisei is not threaded web and woof throughout California and its people is perfectly clear from these episodes of violence. They occur where land or businesses are involved. They occur where the dominant newspapers are jingoist or biased. They occur where for various reasons the law-enforcement agencies are unwilling to crowd the hoodlums too hard.

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And where those conditions do not exist, the incidents do not occur.

Consider, as the sort of thing that happens more often than the violence, the return of Taki Asakura to his home town of Santa Barbara.

He came as a guinea pig, deliberately wanting to test public opinion so that he could inform those who waited fearfully in the River Relocation Center. But he came a little cautiously, too, because he was afraid of what might happen to his wife and especially to his children. Thrown directly into school among Caucasian children, they might be subjected to hazing or insult. To try to forestall that, Taki went to school with them the first day, talked with the principal, got his promise of watchfulness and care. During the conversation Akashi, who had been born in Santa Barbara and was now returning after three years to his old haunts, chafed at the bit. "When can I go hunt up my room?" he asked.

The principal told him the room number and sent him along. He and Taki followed to see what the first reaction was. They saw Akashi open the door and look in, and after a minute they heard the yell of a dozen boys from inside: "Hey, Akashi!" They came out of the room pell-mell, hammering Akashi on the back, and Taki quit worrying about the reception of his children.

Since January Akashi has been captain of two athletic teams of his school, soccer and baseball. His brother, Taki Junior, is president of his class in junior high. Not for a single moment has either boy had to feel that he was an outcast or a stranger or a "Jap." Ever since the first day, boys have come by their house in the mornings, waiting to walk to school with Taki and Akashi.

And what of the parents? For days Taki walked the streets of Santa Barbara buying things, shopping, getting haircuts, going to movies, asking for cigarettes, trying every sort of shop and store and service, to see if there would be a reaction against him. Where he was known, he was welcomed warmly. Where he was not known, he was treated with polite indifference like any other customer. In all the months he has been back only one man has called him a Jap. That was a half-drunk man outside a tavern who asked him if he was one of these Japs come back from the concentration camps. Taki said he supposed he was, though he hadn't until then been called a Jap, and the camps weren't quite concentration camps. The man wanted to buy him a drink, and that was the end of that.

People called. Several ministers, many old customers and friends. During the first few days a half-dozen men took Taki aside and told him that if he needed money to get started again in his florist business, they would be glad to advance a loan. Nobody scrawls threatening signs on his walls or sidewalks, nobody throws stones through his windows, nobody looks at him murderously, though Santa Barbara is full of returned veterans fresh from Iwo and Okinawa, and according to all the jingoist myths, those men should go for a knife at the very sight of Taki's face.

They do not. And they do not restrain themselves simply because Taki is a pleasant man, a graduate of Stanford, a native of Santa Barbara who has many personal friends in town. They fail to get excited about Taki's presence because nobody stirs them up. Santa Barbara is not in the heart of an agricultural area; there is no question of lands involved. And the local paper is consistently fair in its editorials and its news. Taki Asakura is not a damned Jap who has come sneaking back, but a former resident who has returned to his home, and nobody out of Santa Barbara's 50,000 people has so much as made a pass at him.

Out in the counties the campaign against returning Nisei goes on, and the prejudice machines generate their hate. But even where greed and self-interest can be invoked, opinion is far from unanimous. There is a large area of the public that is too well informed to be taken in by the anti-Japanese propaganda. Some of the Nisei who have come back to California are discharged, wounded and decorated veterans of Africa, Sicily, Italy, France and Germany. It is impossible to create really widespread feeling against them, and at least one apostle of exclusion complained recently that the saddest thing that ever happened was the decision to enlist Nisei for combat service. Their heroism has been maliciously used to generate good will.

About once a week a new Japanese Exclusion League, Hood River First Club, Monterey Bay Council on Japanese Relations, or California Preservation League is organized. And almost as regularly, the same papers which announce the organization announce within forty-eight hours local protest meetings and denunciations of bigotry, or run a full-page advertisement for tolerance, signed by dozens or hundreds of citizens. A good part of the "hatred" of Japanese Americans on the West Coast is merely a small and strategically entrenched and economically or politically interested group making a loud noise with its mouth to an audience that is only half listening.

Hence the terror. Hence the attempt to make things look so bloody and so frightening that Japanese Americans thinking of returning will be scared away, and the 2,000 who have already come will move out again. The terror is a desperation weapon, and only half-hearted at that. Despicable and vicious as the shootings and burnings and dynamitings have been, they lack the real violence of their assumed convictions. Nobody has actually been hurt, and it seems fairly clear that as long as the WRA is firm in insisting on justice, the Nisei will continue to return. They will be able to do so because there is really no inclination among the mass of the people of California to stop them.

WALLACE STEGNER

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# Washington Notes

## The Senate: Heights and Depths

OUTSIDE, the damp Washington heat of 97 degrees pressed down on the sweltering city like a hand. In the Senate chamber it was cool—cool as a big-city movie house—but tempers were reaching the breaking point. For the Chamber had stood almost all it could endure and Negro-baiting Bilbo was still carrying on his venomous filibuster against the Fair Employment Practice Act.

There he stood, a little, hateful man with a small, triangular, catlike face, peering out from steel spectacles, scanty hair brushed back over narrow forehead, and using words of racial bigotry against Catholics, Jews and "Negras" that would have made Goebbels chuckle. The audience in the galleries, many of them servicemen, moved about uneasily, or gave embarrassed giggles. A few Senators were at their desks; others glanced in through the glass doors of the lobbies, sighed helplessly, and departed. Under the archaic Senate cloture rule there was little they could do. On and on Bilbo talked, hour after hour; long into the night his filibuster proclaimed the helplessness of the American democratic process. A majority in each chamber favored continuation of the FEPC, but the minority would not let it function. "Some of my best friends are Catholics," observed Bilbo, before launching a new attack. Around midnight the Senate lacked a quorum, although Sergeant-at-Arms Wall Doxey and his assistant scoured the city. And next day Mississippian Eastland took up the thread, preaching racial hatred in even more vicious terms from the very floor of the American Senate.

This was the curtain-raiser and prelude for the Senate debate on the San Francisco Charter. By the indulgence of Bilbo, who had the floor and whose permission it was necessary to obtain in order to interpose other business, Tom Connally and Arthur Vandenberg made their eloquent reports on the international situation, and hope for world brotherhood. Connally preceded Bilbo; Vandenberg next day preceded Eastland. I doubt if ever there have been two days on which the Senate rose so high and then stooped so low. Vandenberg's speech in particular was moving and effective. It was to a Senate still shaken by the Bilbo-Eastland filibuster that Truman came this week to make his own dramatic appeal for prompt ratification. Well, the charter certainly will be ratified. Isolationists may make a brief effort to attach a rider limiting authority of the American delegate, but in my opinion it will get nowhere. About the only element of suspense left now is how long debate will take, and how few the opponents will be. Valuable though the charter is, perhaps the Bilbo-Eastland filibuster that preceded it was helpful too, in its way, as a reminder not to expect sudden Utopias. With such hate and bigotry in the world—the Goebbelses in Germany, the Bilbos in America—even the most effective international machinery will be hard pressed to succeed.

It is the ungenerous but perhaps inevitable consequence of the collapse of Senate opposition to the charter to wonder how far that document might have gone and have still been accepted under present circumstances. It is my impression that the Senate would have taken a considerably stronger measure and even one in which some degree of sovereignty was sacrificed. The very unanimity which the charter now seems likely to obtain indicates its possible failings. At any rate, by the standards of 1919, America's forthcoming entrance into a world organization evidences a tremendous advance. The real battle, so far as Congress is concerned, has moved ahead to the time when it becomes necessary to implement the charter, particularly with economic coöperation. Fortunately, votes on these matters—on loans abroad, on authority of the American delegate, on the establishment of an American section of the international police force—will come up under simple majority-vote procedure. The only two-thirds hurdle is the charter's ratification as a Senate treaty.

The House has passed the Truman recommendation to make the presidential succession go through the office of the Speaker. The Senate will take a long time before passing this very dubious measure, and may reject it altogether. Mr. Stettinius is out as Secretary of State and James F. Byrnes has been appointed to the job. The Senate has confidence in Mr. Byrnes, its former colleague, and will see little benefit in shifting the role of heir-apparent from his office, where it now lies, to that of the Speaker. The historic record shows that the appointed Secretaries of State are generally stronger men than the elected Speakers of the House. It is a fair bet, I think, that the presidential succession will stay where it is.

Mr. Truman is fashioning his cabinet gradually to his own pattern and is expected to make further changes shortly. The least enviable role so far is that of Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico, who started out as a congressional critic of the Food Administration and suddenly found himself the new Secretary of Agriculture. Mr. Anderson must be a very brave man indeed. Congress has insisted upon giving him more and more authority over food, and Mr. Truman has not made his position any easier by telling interviewers that he thought the meat situation would get better as soon as Mr. Anderson took over.

*Notes.*— According to the *Guild Reporter*, no Boston newspaper carried the news that two of the city's largest department stores—Jordan Marsh and Kennedy's—and 40 other New England clothing stores had been convicted of violating OPA price ceilings, with total fines of $12,500. Instead they printed columns of display advertising from the convicted stores on the day the penalty was announced. The American Society of Newspaper Editors which recently sent a three-man mission round the world in the interest of access to news should include Boston in its next itinerary. . . . Rivalry between army and navy continues in the Pacific and some observers fear that it may take another Pearl Harbor to dramatize it; meanwhile General Eisenhower's "one-uniform" recommendation for all armed forces is not making much headway. . . . An inter-Allied commission has just decided that coal is the big problem of Europe, taking precedence even over food and coming second only to security itself.

*Washington* T. R. B.

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# Stingless Death

*The Wind Is Ninety, by Captain Ralph Nelson. Booth Theatre, June 21, 1945.*

THE NEWEST WAR PLAY tells the story of a flyer and those he loves, as they love him. His parents, his wife and his two children wait for his letters, gather in a circle to hear his wife read them aloud. They all remember him in some single and special way, some trait, some incident, according to the relationship of each one of them to him. The latest of his letters asks them to think of him when the east wind is blowing—when the wind is ninety—and feel it bring a kiss to their lips from him. Some of them feel his kiss on the wind, some do not, not yet at least. The flyer's spirit returns, led by a soldier's spirit from the First World War, to be with his family when the news comes of his death.

The telegram announcing his death is brought in. He tries in vain to reach them, through his love and their dear memories. But as it is with Liliom when he comes back from death, he is invisible to them. In the last act we see various players enacting the stages of his life, scenes with his mother, his sweetheart, his wife, his children. At the very end he reaches them, and he will be with them always when they need him, to comfort them and bless them.

This play of Captain Nelson's is of the kind that should be judged carefully by a reviewer. The first thing to say is that the thought of "The Wind Is Ninety" grows, on reflection, in the mind approvingly. That is another way of saying that its virtues are increasingly apparent, but that at the moment it was often tedious. The whole first act is pretty tiresome, in fact, and only toward the middle of the second does the feeling begin to conquer, the situation to take hold of us. Part of the trouble has been so many children on the stage and that artificial element that accompanies them both in the writing and the acting, when there is any acting. (One of the children can act, Donal Devlin, who is the son, Chris, and is so good that you wonder if he has been to the King-Coit School.) As for children, generally speaking, on the stage, the great Seami, of the Japanese No Plays, writing for his pupils in the fourteenth century settled that: plays, he said, in which child-characters occur, even if well done, are always apt to make the audience exclaim in disgust, "Don't harrow our feelings in this way!" That remark, of course, is from the standpoint of artistic culture and an adult audience.

In the last act, the motivations, which have been well prepared for, create a considerable theatric quality and appeal, as well as good openings for the actors, and the total effect is more successful.

I should say of this play that its search for feeling and for imagination is highly to be commended. Some of the thought and some of the wording is banal, even soft perhaps. But it is in the right direction. Our theatre needs this element of warmth and flight. The tenderness, the romantic response to life and love and death and memory, is all to the good, and the dramatist here has little to regret. His intention is gentle and right, and no little technical skill and labor have gone to support it.

"The Wind Is Ninety" is not marvelously acted or directed—how much of our present theatre is?—but it is sincerely and at least competently presented with Mr. De Courville directing and Miss Blanche Yurka, Miss Florence Reid, Mr. Kirk Douglas, Mr. Bert Lytell and Mr. Wendell Corey in the leading roles. Mr. Corey, as the father who returns from death, gives a performance of unusual emotional dignity and clean, intense revelation.

By way of comment on the play, I should say in conclusion that the response it got from the audience I saw was unusually generous and warm.

To leave the play at the Booth and revert to the calamitous performance of "The Private Life of the Master Race," of which I wrote a short review two weeks ago, it seems only fair that I quote here a letter, just received, from Mr. Eric Russell Bentley, the author of the notably fluent and convincing translation. According to the advance information various distinguished actors were to take part in this venture. Mr. Piscator was doing the directing. Mr. Bentley's letter is a capital illustration of the irony and chance with which the theatre is dogged, the injustices, the hit and miss, the glamor of glory or ruin:

Mr. Stark Young's report of the Brecht production is almost entirely accurate. The whole thing was a terrible fiasco. There are two points I would like to add.

Mr. Young naturally blamed the director, Berthold Viertel. This compels me to come to the rescue of one of the best directors of our day. Mr. Viertel was not responsible for the horrible things which Mr. Young and I saw on the stage. Just who was responsible is a long, complex, and highly "personal" story. You must take my word for it that Mr. Viertel heroically and self-sacrificingly took over after the first director resigned, nine days before the opening.

Secondly: I think it very unfortunate that a major artist like Brecht is presented to *New Republic* readers only in a report of a performance like this. In the past three years two of his things have appeared in book form. The first was listed at the head of a review in the *New Republic* but not mentioned in the text. The second was not reviewed at all. It is a pity.

That is the scholar-translator's letter. As I said, what a place the theatre is! Scholars or no scholars, art or fate.

STARK YOUNG

# The Bandwagon

Membership in the world organization was limited to nations able to fulfill their collective obligations of maintaining peace. This rules out neutrals.—*From the Philadelphia* Inquirer.

If [Harry] Hopkins can live up to the legend that seems to be growing about him, we regret that his health is not much more robust than we understand it to be.—*From an editorial in the New Orleans* Item.

The Sweetest Story Ever Told

Elmer T. —— of Fargo Blvd., who has been in the army for 32 minutes, came home for good last Tuesday.—*News item in the Geneva, Illinois,* Republican.

Democracy in Action: Legislative Division

The Senate was scheduled to begin consideration today of the war-agencies-appropriation bill. A committee amendment provides $500,000 for the FEPC, but it will require a two-thirds

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vote to pass. . . . Two Southern Senators, Theodore Bilbo of Mississippi and Olin D. Johnston of South Carolina, have announced that they will filibuster to prevent the committee amendment from coming to a vote. Bilbo said he is prepared to talk until Christmas. – *From* PM.

How Could You Tell?

Overoptimistic publicity about the dexterity of amputees has had some strange results. Senator William Langer (R., N. D.) even introduced a bill in Congress which would require every major-league baseball club to be composed of at least 10 percent of men who have lost one or more limbs. – *From the New York* World-Telegram.

Tough-Peace Department

U. S. TIGHTENS SCREWS
ON NAZIS IN MUNICH
Curfew Is Advanced
From 10 to 9:30

– *Head and subhead in* PM.

*Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the* New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.* – THE EDITORS

# Correspondence

## The Supreme Court and the Press

SIR: Mr. John P. Frank's article, "The Divided Supreme Court" [the *New Republic*, June 18], is thoughtful and stimulating, but it did not, it seems to me, stress one point at all, namely, that while the work of the Supreme Court is highly technical, it could and would receive complete and intelligent coverage in the daily press *if* the publishers wanted it. There are plenty of intelligent and understanding newspapermen who could do the job in plain and simple language so that the man in the street would have no trouble in following the legal issues involved in any case appearing before the Court. Darkness and confusion in the lay mind is what the publishers want. Apparently it is to the interest of some publishers to have Mr. Justice Frankfurter appear as an arch-radical when, in reality, he is, by present liberal standards of the Supreme Court, an arch-conservative.

J. A. GOODMAN, Editor,
*Swanton, Vt.* the Swanton *Courier*

## The Bavarian Scandal

SIR: In my opinion, Mr. Philipp Loewenfeld's article, "The Bavarian Scandal" [the *New Republic*, June 18], gives a distorted picture of the Bavarian situation. I am myself a refugee from Bavaria. During the years 1933-41, while I was working on a liberal Swiss newspaper (I think Mr. Loewenfeld knows my anti-Nazi activities during this period), I had ample opportunity to observe the conditions in Bavaria, and especially the growing anti-Nazi sentiment in Munich. Around 1939 and 1940 we had several meetings of anti-Nazis in Switzerland which were also attended by members of the Bavarian Socialist Party. In all these meetings the name of Fritz Schaeffer came up as one of the most honest and uncompromising adversaries of Nazism. Before 1933, I myself had a chance to hear some of Schaeffer's vigorous attacks on Hitler and Nazism. As far as I know, Schaeffer spent a considerable time in the Dachau concentration camp. He has only one shortcoming in the eyes of certain anti-Nazis: he is undoubtedly a devout Catholic. But why should the American officials have ignored the fact that Bavaria is an overwhelmingly Catholic country? Mr. Loewenfeld did not mention that the Bavarian People's Party came out as the strongest party in all the elections of the decade before Hitler. Why should an anti-Nazi belonging to this party be disqualified from the onset?

Mr. Loewenfeld again raises the scarecrow of Bavarian "separatism" and in this connection talks of a mysterious plot hatched by the Vatican. Does he not know that, some weeks ago, the Bavarian Socialist, Hoegner, issued a manifesto in favor of Bavarian political autonomy?

In his list of "scandals" Mr. Loewenfeld quite significantly omits the case of Bulgaria and Rumania, where unknown men invested with dictatorial powers have been saddled on the people by the occupying nations. Anti-clericalism can be as blinding as anti-Semitism.

*Detroit, Mich.* EUGENE GUERSTER

SIR: I know of Mr. Guerster's former liberal activities and, therefore, regret that he now comes to the defense of one of the worst enemies of liberalism and democracy.

I tried to show that the Bavarian People's Party, under the leadership of Mr. Schaeffer from 1919 until 1933, used its tremendous political power to follow a highly reactionary and anti-democratic course which was more helpful than anything else to the rise of Nazism.

The Vatican's warm interest in the Bavarian separatistic monarchists is not a "mysterious plot" but a public secret.

The fact that Mr. Schaeffer began to change only when it was too late, is mentioned in my article. His political responsibility for the Nazi usurpation of power, and thus his disqualification as Minister-President of American-occupied Bavaria, is obvious.

In an interview recently published in *PM*, Mr. Schaeffer called himself a personal and political friend of Mr. Schuschnigg. Certainly the latter's brand of Austro-fascism is still today nearer to Mr. Schaeffer's heart than liberalism or democracy.

I know that my old friend Wilhelm Hoegner, one of the sincerest Bavarian anti-fascists, committed the sad error of publishing in Switzerland a separatist Bavarian manifesto. It may be hoped that he will be cured when he becomes aware of how this action encouraged international reaction.

Mr. Guerster knows my own liberal record and especially my devotion to everybody's personal and religious freedom. I therefore deplore his insinuation that I regard Mr. Schaeffer's devotion to the Catholic religion as a "shortcoming," or that I silently approved any Russian or other scandals when exposing an American scandal.

*New York City* PHILIPP LOEWENFELD

## *From The New Republic Mail Bag*

Floyd Kenney of Livingston, Montana, writes to tell us of a poll taken in his neighborhood which showed that 81 out of 88 persons questioned believed that communism and fascism were almost identical. Among those answering the questionnaire were doctors, lawyers and high-school teachers. Mr. Kenney also points out that until Livingston liberals forced the town library to subscribe to *PM*, the 11 newspapers taken by it were all anti-New Deal.

E. B. B., Cambridge, Massachusetts, writes objecting to "*Time* and the Nisei" (the *New Republic*, June 18). The writer suggests that we may have misinterpreted the *Time* article, "Community Arrangements," which he believes to have been satirical in tone. He quotes phrases which seem to him to indicate that *Time* is not as unsympathetic to the Nisei as we suspected. He says: "The least that can be said of *Time's* report is that it is ambiguous. The most . . . is that it sticks to the facts."

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# Books in Review

## How Do We Talk American?

GRANTED that there is such a thing as an American language, one question remains at issue before the court. Is it a language chiefly because of the special words that compose it, or does it use English words, for the most part, and depend for its separate existence on the fashion in which those words are put together? The documents in the case are, first, *A Dictionary of American English*[1], the four-volume work edited for the University of Chicago by Sir William Craigie and James R. Hulbert, and, in rebuttal, the epilogue to Gertrude Stein's last book, *Wars I Have Seen*. The jury will please be seated while we consider these two exhibits in order.

Sir William Craigie, as a famous lexicographer, would probably say that a language is words or it is nothing at all. Words are what he has gathered, American words, a 2,500-page list of them, two big columns to the page, with definitions and examples of their use. He defines his subject as words that seem to have originated here, or that have a greater currency here than in England, or that denote something closely connected with the development of this country and the history of its people. Reading his account of these words, entry after entry, page after page and, in a cursory way, volume after volume, you don't know whether to be more impressed by the vast store of erudition that Sir William and his associates have assembled in ten years of steady work, or more surprised by the many American words and idioms they fail to include, either by oversight or, in most cases, because of self-imposed limitations.

To mention a few of these:

*A Dictionary of American English* is a dictionary of words, and not a grammar, a speller, a guide to pronunciation or a style-book. Hence, it contains no general headings for relative pronouns and their use, for interjections, intensive adverbs, irregular conjugations, double negatives or any of the other grammatical features that distinguish American from English as a spoken language.

It does not undertake to list slang or dialect words unless they are of early date or, in the editors' judgment, of special prominence. Hence, it omits the special words used by yeggs, coppers, hoboes, hopheads and floozies, many of which have been making their way into polite literature. It explains the words *copper* and *hobo*, but fails to define *yegg*, *hophead* or *floozy*. It omits almost the whole collection of old American words having to do with organized or unorganized vice: *broad*, *chippy*, *crib house*, *honkytonk*, *horny*, *jocker*, *nooky*, *parlor house*, *punk* and *wolf* (in its pre-Hollywood sense). It even omits *red-light district*, which I find in the *Shorter Oxford Dictionary* listed as an Americanism.

It is based on the written records of the language, and its story ends with the year 1900, which has been selected "as a fitting point at which to terminate the admission of new words, however common some of them may have become in recent use." Hence, there is no entry for *ballyhoo*, *bunk* or *debunk* (though we find the earlier *bunkum* and *buncombe*), *Hollywood*, *hooch* (though we find *hoochinoo*), *jazz*, *jitters*, *line* (of repartee), *racket*, *scofflaw* or *swing* music, to mention only the first words that occur to me. Except for *bull moose*, we miss the dozens of political words that originated in the campaigns waged by the first and second Roosevelts.

As an example of what the new dictionary covers and refrains from covering in nineteenth-century American writing, let me quote a passage from Chapter XXI of *Huckleberry Finn*, one of the many books that were carefully collated by the editorial staff. I have italicized the words and expressions that are more or less un-English:

> Maybe *Bill he* gives him a *chaw*; maybe he lies and say he *ain't got none*. Some of *them kinds* of *loafers* never has a *cent* in the world, nor a *chaw* of tobacco of their own. They get all their *chawing* by borrowing; they say to a fellow, "I *wisht* you'd len' me a *chaw*, Jack, I *jist* this minute *give* Ben Thompson the last *chaw* I had"—which is a lie pretty much every time; it *don't fool nobody* but a stranger; but Jack *ain't no* stranger, so he says:
>
> "You *give* him a *chaw*, did you? *So did* your sister's cat's grandmother. You pay me back the *chaws* you've awready borry'd *off'n* me, Lafe Buckner, then I'll *loan* you one or two *ton* of it, and *won't charge you no back intrust, nuther*."
>
> "*Well*, I did pay you back some of it *wunst*."
>
> "Yes, you did—'bout six *chaws*. You borry'd *store tobacker* and paid back *nigger-head*."

Of the American words, forms and idioms in this passage, I have found entries in the *Dictionary of American English* for eight in all: *ain't*, *got* (used without "have"), *loafers*, *cent*, *loan* (as a verb), *back* (as an adjective meaning "overdue"), *well* (as general introduction to any statement, like the German *also*) and *store tobacker* (with this passage from Mark Twain quoted as reference). I could find no entries for *Bill he* (pronoun added for emphasis), *them kinds*, *don't fool nobody* (or the other double negatives), *jist*, *wisht* (for "wish"), *give* (for "gave"), *off'n*, *ton* (plural of units of measure without the "s"), *nuther* (or *neither* or *either*, at the end of a negative statement) and *wunst* (or *oncet* or *twicet*). The editors might answer that all these omissions are of dialect forms or simple grammatical errors, which they could not undertake to treat even in four big volumes; yet the fact remains that some of them are widely current in American speech. It is harder to explain their failure to list *chaw* and *chawing* (or *chew*) as nouns, or *so did* (and *so's*) as expression of disbelief (So's your old man"), or *nigger-head* as dried and twisted leaf tobacco (although they give the word in other senses).

But for all its omissions, deliberate and accidental, *A Dictionary of American English* is a most impressive work and a new experience even to the casual reader. I had never before realized how many of our commonest expressions are either American by origin or else regarded as incorrect by the English. Under the verb *get*, which receives (or gets)

[1] A Dictionary of American English on Historical Principles, edited by Sir William Craigie and James R. Hulbert. The University of Chicago Press. 4 vols. boxed. 2,596 pages. $100.

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three columns of type, I found five primary meanings listed as Americanisms, with the verbal phrases *to get along, to get around, to get away with, to get back at, to get behind, to get down on, to get into* (of a book), *to get off, to get on to, to get round, to get* a legislative measure *through, to get together, to get busy* and *to get* someone *dead*, besides *get-out, get-up* and *getter-up* as nouns. Under the word *back*, as noun, verb, adjective and adverb (it receives almost sixteen columns, or more than any other word in the four volumes except *Indian*, which receives nineteen), I found such Americanisms as *in back of, back and fill, back and forth, back down, backfire, backlog, back country, back number, back talk* and *backwoods*. Indeed, so many American idioms are listed that the reader begins to wonder whether he could write one paragraph or speak a single sentence that would be fully intelligible to a cultivated Englishman. And the quotations go so far into the past that the reader begins to picture the American language spoken today as the result of a slow historical accretion. Each wave of colonization left its words; each westward movement; each new industry, like steamboating or railroading or gold mining in California; each national issue, each war and even each political campaign: they all left their words, like flood waters leaving their bench marks in a narrow valley, until this dictionary "on historical principles" becomes a sort of geological exploration.

Sir William Craigie seems to prove his point, but Gertrude Stein has a few words to offer in rebuttal.

At the very end of her new book, *Wars I Have Seen*, she descends from the great problems of war and peace, on which her remarks are sometimes rather silly, to the smaller but no less complicated problem of creating an American style in speech and writing. "There is one thing," she says, "one has to remember about America, it had a certain difficulty in proving itself American which no other nation has ever had." And she believes that the difficulty was in essence linguistic:

> The trouble of course is or was that by the time America became itself everybody or very nearly everybody could read and write and so the language . . . instead of changing as it did in countries where nobody knew how to read and write while the language was being formed, the American language instead of changing remained English, long after the Americans in their nature their habits their feelings their pleasures and their pains had nothing to do with England.
>
> So the only way the Americans could change their language was by choosing words which they liked better than other words, by putting the words next to each other in a different way than the English way, by shoving the language around until at last now the job is done, we use the same words as the English do but the words say an entirely different thing.

Miss Stein in this passage shows little concern for the new words that originated in this country, or for the old words that survived here after the English had grown tired of them. She says, "We use the same words as the English do," thus dismissing in one phrase the subject to which Sir William and his collaborators have devoted their ten years and their 2,500 pages. Her phrase is grandly incorrect, as we have seen, yet it also has a core of truth in it. The words in educated English and American speech do *tend* to become the same. The new words invented or adopted in this country are adopted, after a time, in England too: that has been the fate of *squaw, moccasin, lynch* and *governmental*, to mention only four. English speech today is full of Americanisms, most of them learned in movie palaces, and American speech at a certain level is full of Briticisms.

But while the words themselves are being interchanged, the two languages (or the two forms of English) remain essentially different. It is something else than a mere question of vocabulary that makes it hard for an English provincial schoolmaster to understand an American soldier: it is intonation, sentence structure, position of accented words, length of phrase and choice *among* correct words that distinguish the two speakers, even when both of them might defend their separate usages by referring to the same grammars and the same dictionaries. That, so I take it, is what Miss Stein means when she says that Americans have been "shoving the language around." And as if to prove her point—though almost any passage in her latest book would illustrate it nearly as well—she has written the two quoted paragraphs, in which every word is from *The Oxford English Dictionary*, in which only one phrase ("different than") is by English standards a grammatical error, yet in which the whole effect is un-English.

MALCOLM COWLEY

# Common Criers

*Justice in Transportation, by Arne C. Wiprud. New York: Ziff-Davis Publishing Company. 197 pages. $2.50.*

THE RAILROADS are the loudest criers in American industry. Copious tears punctuate their bitter tale of financial woe as they try to extract ever increasing rates from shippers and passengers. This book, based on an extensive investigation conducted by the author for the Department of Justice, exposes the refined robber-baron tactics of the transportation magnates.

He tells here the shocking story of a monopoly-created crisis in our transportation facilities. The railroads were apparently more concerned with destroying their rivals than with fostering improved services. Elimination of competition ensured exorbitant rates. Territorial discrimination and high freight costs compelled shippers to turn to motor trucks, water carriers or air transport. But the railroads quickly moved into these new fields and by consolidations and economic pressures obtained still higher rates. The Railway Express Agency, for example, obtained an exclusive contract with the airlines which set forth air-cargo charges far in excess of their actual cost; the intent was to force traffic back to the rails. Railroad-sponsored organizations supported state legislation to hamper motor-truck transport and did all they could to block developments in inland waterways, pipe lines and aircraft.

The pressure for high rates, Mr. Wiprud shows, was largely due to excessive capitalization. The railroads continually demanded a "fair" return on an essentially inflated investment: they finally got what they wanted in the Transportation Act of 1920.

Mr. Wiprud becomes especially indignant when he speaks of the none too subtle aid given to the railroads by the Interstate Commerce Commission. He charges that under the guise of integration the ICC supported private groups in

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their efforts to achieve an absolute monopoly in transportation. Certificates of public convenience were required of prospective truckers or air carriers, and these certificates became the instruments for suppressing potential competition. Nor has the Commission been able to do very much about freight rates. These tariffs are set by the railroads' private conferences and the schedules are merely filed with the ICC. The latter can only hold protracted hearings should it feel that rates are too high, but that, Mr. Wiprud shows, has seldom happened.

The railroad octopus now has a secure stranglehold on the American economy. Discriminatory rates enforced industrial concentration in the Northeast, and this has been the chief factor in perpetuating the colonial status of the South and West.

Railroads, motor trucks, airlines and pipe lines play significant roles in our transportation system; no one form deserves preferential treatment. Competition, Mr. Wiprud insists, is the only assurance of progressive and efficient operation. The railroads, he rightly suggests, need a thorough overhauling of their fantastic financial structure; this is a prerequisite to reducing and equalizing rates.

The primary need now, the author continues, is effective regulation in the public interest: an intensive anti-trust campaign is our sole safeguard. But this overlooks the "natural-monopoly" character of transportation, and that clearly demands more vigorous action than mere regulation and trust-busting.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

# Security in the Pacific

*Security in the Pacific: A Preliminary Report of the Ninth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. New York: The Institute of Pacific Relations. 169 pages. $2.50.*
*America's Far Eastern Policy, by T. A. Bisson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 235 pages. $3.*
*What to Do with Japan, by Wilfred Fleisher. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 178 pages. $2.*
*Modern Korea, by Andrew J. Grajdanzev. New York: The John Day Company. 330 pages. $4.*
*The Economic Development of French Indo-China, by Charles Robequain. New York: The Oxford Press. 400 pages. $4.*

THE COLLAPSE of Germany, coming while the San Francisco Conference was in session, served to highlight the fact that the military phase of the war has reached the point where it can be considered subservient to the political phase of postwar planning for "security." With this development a definition of "security" is vital. All these books discuss some aspect of the problem. Together, they throw considerable light on the issues that must be solved, and attitudes that must be corrected, if "security" is to mean peace. One is by a newspaperman, the others are by research specialists in economics or foreign affairs, and their volumes are issued in conjunction with the Institute of Pacific Relations. At some point the IPR should be given a medal for its contribution of facts to counteract the currently popular emotional approach to the problem of international relations.

*Security in the Pacific* is a partial account of round-table discussions held, by delegates from the Pacific area, at the IPR's January conference. The delegates define the term "security" broadly to include: the future of Japan; world trade and general standards of living; race and cultural relations between peoples and nations; the future of the colonial areas of Asia and the Pacific; and collective action by all nations to correct the causes of war and prevent aggression. The major value of this useful volume is that it admits a variety of different points of view so that the extreme complexity of the issues is emphasized. Although the Western powers were heavily over-represented at the conference, and the Asiatic and Pacific peoples heavily under-represented, still there were spokesmen from India to voice the Asiatic protest at the persistent assumption of the Western powers that their "interests" in this region must necessarily continue to dominate. It is useful for us to be reminded that the basis of "security" in Asia must be a general improvement of economic conditions; and that to Asiatics the major issue of the Pacific war is not only the destruction of Japanese imperialism but of imperialism in general.

The IPR conference report helps to define the problems of security. Mr. Bisson supplies the background to make us understand why security was not achieved in the prewar period. In *America's Far Eastern Policy* he gives an outline of Anglo-American relations with Japan, emphasizing the period from the Manchurian Incident up to the Cairo Declaration. For the past, it is an objective record of power politics in action. Any American who believes that our pre-Pearl Harbor policy was designed to protect the Chinese people will find little here to comfort him. For the future, Mr. Bisson sees hope in some reconstituted League of Nations in which both the United States and the USSR will "exert much greater authority" in the Pacific region; and in which China will replace Japan as the major Asiatic power. Mr. Bisson, however, has so thoroughly documented the conclusion that the power-politics approach to security is ineffective that the reader is not surprised to find his notes on the future are not unduly optimistic. The volume is well organized and detailed in its presentation, and the appendix contains various official documents. It is both a handy reference book and a useful survey of a complex field for the general reader.

Wilfred Fleisher is a newspaperman whose father ran the one-time Tokyo *Advertiser*. According to the foreword, his *What to Do with Japan* represents the "pattern" that is taking shape in international foreign policy, and is therefore a blueprint of the "sort of peace we may expect." The material covers both the specific problem of Japan and the future of the Asiatic and South Pacific "dependent peoples."

For Japan, Mr. Fleisher urges the need for domestic political reform; the need for stripping her of all territory but her home islands and ringing her with bases; the need for complete financial and economic disarmament (the Japanese not to be allowed even a merchant marine); the need for "reëducating" the Japanese during a period of military occupation; and so on. The proposals go far beyond anything required to ensure the destruction of Japan's military power, and would, in practice, result in the reduction of Japan to the status of a colonial dependency. For the colonial territories, the pattern appears to be to turn the areas taken from Japan into bases held by the United States, the USSR, China (Ryukyu Islands) and an "international

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commission" (Korea); and otherwise to freeze the colonial status quo for the European colonial powers. Since, however, the rising nationalism of various "dependent peoples" must be acknowledged, the colonials are to be given the illusion of reform by a change in terminology—that is, the term "colonial power" is to become "administrator" and "mandate" is to become "trusteeship."

Objections suggest themselves. In the case of Japan the proposals somewhat overemphasize a theological interpretation of the causes of the war: original sin on the part of the Japanese. Accepting this view, it is assumed that security can be achieved by punishing the Japanese people and reforming their character and institutions. More confidence could be placed in this view if the analysis of Japanese character and institutions on which it is based had more relation to objective reality. Take the problem of "reëducation." Mr. Fleisher recommends that we issue a new "directive" requiring Japanese educational authorities to rewrite the textbooks, making it clear that "Japan's mission is not a divine one of conquest, but to make a law-abiding place in the society of nations into which she may, after a period of penance, be admitted." This sort of exegesis is not helpful. If Mr. Fleisher has seen any of the Japanese primary textbooks he knows they do not talk about "a divine mission of conquest," but instead emphasize such attitudes as filial piety, respect for authority, coöperation, discipline, frugality, honesty and so on. If he has not seen the textbooks, he should not advise on the problem with such authority.

A more important objection to the pattern is that it sees security almost exclusively in terms of the repression of Japan. This overemphasis tends to obscure the broader, more urgent, issues. These concern the future development of Asia and the Pacific territories—how are they to develop, under whose leadership, with what kind of industrialization and how much, in what sort of world climate, for whose interests, and so on. Such problems are basic and involve not only Japan but the entire Pacific and Asiatic region. They cannot be solved by a pattern of harsh repression for Japan and double-talk for the colonies. A warning as to the dangers of such a pattern as Mr. Fleisher forecasts is suggested by the comments of two Indian delegates to the IPR conference. One said that in his opinion "the Western powers would be inclined to impose more severe terms on Japan than upon Germany because Japan and her peoples were Asiatics." The other said that "an oppressive peace against Japan might make other Asiatic nations feel that the United States and the United Kingdom merely wanted to reduce Asia to its position of weakness before the Japanese victory over Russia in 1905." What the dependent peoples in general actually do think, either about peace terms for Japan or their own future, can only be surmised, since their opinions are never admitted as relevant in any of the conferences on Pacific security.

The increasing urgency of the colonial problem gives special importance to two studies of specific colonial areas. *Modern Korea* is a hard-hitting denunciation of Japanese colonial policy by an economist of Russian descent now on the staff of the IPR. *The Economic Development of French Indo-China* is an objective survey by a Sorbonne economist, written with the coöperation of French official agencies. Together they add up to a sharp indictment of the present colonial system. Mr. Grajdanzev does this explicitly for Japan. M. Robequain does it indirectly for Indo-China and other areas by quietly accepting as normal aspects of the colonial system the very elements Mr. Grajdanzev condemns for Japan.

No brief review can do justice to the wealth of material contained in these two books. They should be read carefully, preferably together, since neither attempts specifically to place Japanese imperialism in its proper relation to imperialism in general. Studied together, however, they challenge many of the basic assumptions on which postwar plans for the region are being made. The first of these is that Japanese imperialism is less efficient and less concerned with native welfare than are the other colonial powers. On the basis of these two studies—one extremely denunciatory against Japan, the other tolerant toward France—it is impossible not to conclude that if you accept the imperialist colonial system, the Japanese have somewhat the better of the argument. Not only are industrialization and the development of natural resources more highly developed in Korea than in the other colonial territories of the region, but there is greater modernization, in terms of schools, hospitals, communications, improved agricultural techniques and so on. Mr. Grajdanzev condemns the Japanese on the ground that they instituted industrialization and modernization in their own interest rather than that of the Koreans. His final indictment rests on his finding that after 60 years of rule, the lot of the Koreans is not so satisfactory as that of the Japanese, either at home or in Korea. M. Robequain, on the other hand, recognizes that imperial powers put the welfare of colonial peoples at the bottom of the list, subservient to and dependent on the strategic needs of the mother country and the special privileges of their own nationals.

These studies both suggest that the basic issue of the colonial problem is economic rather than political. The tendency of the "mother country" to

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control customs and trade for the benefit of homeside industry, to "protect" home industries from colonial competition, to discourage all capital investment but their own, to put up barriers against trade and migration between the colony and adjacent territories—all this creates an artificial economic unit that serves both to retard natural development within the colony and to foster an explosive situation among the different units. The artificiality of the colonial unit is increased if the ruling country is geographically remote, and the ruling peoples are separated from the "natives" by race and culture.

This sort of problem, discussed explicitly and by implication in both these studies, is basic to future security in the Pacific. In a supplementary chapter to M. Robequain's study, two IPR editors add a specific comment on the interrelation of Japan and the colonial issue. They explain that, regardless of Japanese self-interest and wartime brutalities, Indo-China's "temporary role as an integrated part of Japan's swollen empire will at least tend to harmonize her economy with that of other parts of Greater East Asia"; and that "at least part of the result of the Japanese occupation . . . has been a broadening of the industrial picture and a breakdown of some of its monopolistic characteristics." This suggests that, despite the unsatisfactory technique employed by the Japanese to attain it, their idea of a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere was a sensible plan for the region. If in the postwar world powerful distant nations fail to permit sensible regional arrangements on the grounds of their own assumed security, it will not be surprising if they fail to achieve their objective. HELEN MEARS

# A Reader's List

THE RUSSIA I BELIEVE IN, by Samuel N. Harper (Chicago, $3.50). Professor Harper's memoirs, posthumously edited by his brother Paul, suggest that both the knowledge and the emotions of an academician have greater survival power than those of most journalists. Because of his knowledge of prewar Russia, Professor Harper never became disillusioned with postwar Russia. Unlike his formal books on the Soviet Union, these scattered notes, letters and memoranda are personal and lively. Though not written for publication, they achieve a greater degree of authenticity and honesty than any other recently published book on Russia. Stalin is described as "hard and ruthless . . . an able and resourceful revolutionary strategist and machine boss." Trotsky is considered a prima donna, a pathological egoist. Throughout the book there is much criticism, but also much sympathetic understanding of the Soviet experiment.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGES, by Jack Chernick and G. C. Hellickson (Minnesota, $2.50). The authors of this sympathetic study present an impressive catalogue of benefits to be derived from a widespread adoption of the guaranteed-annual-wage idea. Labor would acquire a sense of security and the dull fear of unemployment—which often impedes production—would become part of the industrial past. Excess capacity and labor turnover would be decreased and output would be regularized; consumers would be the ultimate beneficiaries by virtue of lower prices. The authors discuss the pioneer annual-wage plans adopted in the Hormel, Proctor and Gamble, and Nunn-Bush plants, and urge all industrialists to profit by these early experiments. The techniques employed are explained with admirable simplicity: In essence, the annual wage must overcome seasonal limitations imposed upon factory operations. This may seem difficult, yet ingenuity, sincerity and coöperation, the authors say, can successfully surmount the barriers of weather and custom. The annual wage, quite simply, converts labor into an overhead cost, and production will be maintained to recoup such "sunken" expenditures. We should then be well on our way toward eliminating that great scourge of modern civilization—cyclical unemployment.

### Crime and Punishment

AN EYE FOR AN EYE, by Oliver Weld Bayer (Crime Club, $2). The author of *No Little Enemy* has spun another exciting yarn. This time it concerns a refugee French patriot in New York and the vengeance he is seeking on some traitorous countrymen. However, Ralph Morley, American war correspondent, also has some business to settle with the very victims the Frenchman has marked down. With Ralph's girl drawn into the tangle, the cross-purposes of the protagonists result in some lively—and literate—doings.

MURDER-GO-ROUND, by C. P. Donnel Jr. (McKay, $2). Tony Costello's first run-in with the Nazis occurs in Stockholm, when British Military Intelligence sends him there in 1943 on a very secret mission. He is unsuccessful and nearly loses his life to boot. Back in Washington, a year later, he gets another chance to tangle with the same Nazi agents and this time he foils their phony-surrender plot. Acceptable time-killer for a warm evening. E. H.

## Contributors

Richard Watts Jr. has been a foreign correspondent for the New York *Herald Tribune* in the Far East, Russia and Spain. He was formerly editor-in-chief of the Office of War Information in China.

Robert G. Spivack is a political reporter for the New York *Post* and writes frequently on New York politics for the *New Republic*.

Emil Rieve, general president of the Textile Workers' Union of America, CIO, was a delegate to the planning conference of the World Trade Union Conference held in London last year. He is secretary of the National Planning Association and alternate labor member of the National War Labor Board.

Wallace Stegner is at work on a book of combined pictures and text dealing with minority groups in the United States, prepared with the collaboration of *Look* magazine. The volume, to be published this fall by Houghton Mifflin under the title, *One Nation*, has been announced as the winner of Houghton Mifflin's Life in America award for this year. His most recent novel is *The Big Rock Candy Mountain*, published in 1943 by Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

Ben B. Seligman, OPA commodity analyst, is a contributing editor to *Labor and the Nation*, a new magazine. He has also contributed articles to *Tomorrow* and the *Contemporary Jewish Record*.

Helen Mears has lived in China and Japan and has traveled extensively in both countries. She is at present working on a book about American foreign relations in the Far East, with special emphasis on a consideration of Japan's problems, psychology and future in the postwar world. Miss Mears has lectured to the Civil Affairs Training School at the University of Michigan and that of Northwestern.

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